

vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

"We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

"It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

"But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

"The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

"We cannot walk alone.

"And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

"We cannot turn back.

"There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, 'When will you be satisfied?' We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: 'For Whites Only.' We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until 'justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.'

"I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest—quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia,

go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

"Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

"And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'

"I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

"I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

"I have a dream today!

"I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of 'interposition' and 'nullification'—one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

"I have a dream today!

"I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.'

"This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

"With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

"And this will be the day—this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

"My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing.

"Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride,

"From every mountainside, let freedom ring!"

"And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

"And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

"Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

"Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

"Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

"Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

"But not only that:

"Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

"Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

"Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

"From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

"And when this happens, when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles,

Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

"Free at last! Free at last!

"Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CORKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE DEFICIT

Mr. CORKER. Madam President, I will speak for just a few moments on something I think is the most important issue facing our country today. I can't think of a better time than the first day of the new session in the U.S. Congress to address it; that is, the Federal deficit. I am proud to say that later this week, CLAIRE MCCASKILL from Missouri will be joining me, along with RICHARD BURR, JOHN MCCAIN, Senator ALEXANDER, and Senator ISAACSON in something called the Cap Act. The bill takes us, over a 10-year period, from where we are in spending at the Federal Government level as a percentage of our country's economy, the gross domestic product, at 24 percent, down to the 40-year average which we have had in this country, as I mentioned, for 40 years, of 20.6 percent. It puts in place a construct or a straitjacket on Congress that allows us, over time, to take a methodical, thoughtful approach to spending at the Federal level but to actually have to do it.

This bill, which we also offered as an amendment during the lameduck session—it is now a stand-alone bill—again, we will be offering it a little bit later this week. We hope to have additional cosponsors from both sides of the aisle. What it would do is take us from where we are today down to that average. If Congress did not act responsibly, then OMB would have the ability, through sequestration, to actually take money out of both mandatory and nonmandatory accounts to ensure that we again have that discipline to take us where we need to be.

I have traveled throughout Tennessee and spoken about this bill. I have made about 46 presentations of how we in Congress could act more responsibly. It is amazing that people on both sides of the aisle have looked at this and said this makes a lot of sense. So it is my hope, as we look at trying to rein in Federal spending, that this bill—I believe this bill is the vehicle—there may be other ideas, but I hope this is something we, in fact, will act upon during the spring.

I know the President most recently has talked a great deal about this issue of fiscal responsibility. I thank him for that. I am hoping that tonight, when he delivers his speech, he talks about the fact that we in Washington have to have the same kind of discipline that all our folks back home have to live by. Again, this is something we have been working on for a long time. We have tried to work on it in a way that in no way points fingers. I think people understand that people on both sides of the aisle are responsible for our country ending up where it is fiscally. So we have tried to draft something that brings people together and that, for the first time since I have been here—I have been here 4 years, and I have been amazed at the lack of discipline that exists in Congress. We have no mechanism, no straitjacket, if you will, that forces us to act responsibly.

So over a long period of time we have worked to put together a bill—by the way, I think it is eight or nine pages long—that actually does that. It has a smoothing mechanism in it so that when there are gyrations in our economy—we know the Federal Government can't react quite as quickly as a State or city—that smoothing is averaged out so we know what the target is in the ensuing year. It has tight constraints. It requires a 67-vote majority or two-thirds of the Senate, two-thirds of the House to override. So it is a very strong bill. Again, I think people on both sides of the aisle are beginning to embrace this type of thinking.

It is my hope, again, as the President tonight, hopefully, talks responsibly about our fiscal state here in the United States, that this type of mechanism, if you will, gains momentum. It is also my hope that we will vote and pass something such as this, along with actual budget cuts prior to the debt ceiling vote. I think all of us know it would be very irresponsible not to act responsibly prior to this debt ceiling vote which will take place sometime in April, May or possibly June.

So I thank my colleagues for the time to talk a little bit about this, again, on the first day of us coming back together. I can't imagine anything more important for all of us to focus on than to get our fiscal house in order. I know the whole world is watching us.

I know people have said we in Washington don't have the courage to deal with this. I know the Presiding Officer has had to deal with this as the Governor of a State. I certainly had to deal with this as the mayor of a city and a businessman and financial commissioner of my State. We all know things are awry here. I think we have a wonderful opportunity, in a bipartisan way, to do something that puts our country back on strong footing.

Madam President, I yield the floor, and I note the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TESTER). Without objection, it is so ordered.

BULLY OF BELARUS

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, during the recent 2-week recess, I was invited to speak to the Parliament of the nation of Lithuania in the capital of Vilnius. It was a great honor. This country holds a special place in my family. My mother was born in Lithuania. One hundred years ago this year, my grandmother brought her, her brother, and sister to America. My mother was 2 years old. They landed in Baltimore, and somehow our family found its way to meet up with my grandfather in East St. Louis, IL, where a lot of Lithuanian immigrants were coming to take jobs—hard, manual labor jobs, which immigrants took in those days and still do—manual labor jobs that gave them a chance they did not have in the old country.

I was asked to speak to the Parliament on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of what has come to be known as bloody Sunday. It recalls the time, 20 years ago, when Mikhail Gorbachev, as head of the Soviet Union, made his last, desperate, violent effort to stop Lithuania from breaking away from the Soviet Union.

I recall that period because I followed it closely as a Member of Congress. You can still see some details of what life was like in Lithuania under the Soviets. The old police headquarters, the KGB headquarters, has been preserved as a museum—basically, a horror museum to show and catalog the torture and killings that took place during Soviet rule.

In February 1990, the people of this tiny nation on the Baltic decided they had had enough. They swept the ruling Communist Party out of power in an open parliamentary election. A month later in March 1990, the new Parliament voted 124 to 0 to restore the country's independence. They were the first Soviet Republic to do so. It was bold. It was historic. That is when Gorbachev turned the screws. He ordered Soviet tanks and paratroopers to stop the breakaway effort of Lithuania.

In the early morning hours of January 13, 1991, 14 Lithuanians, just regular people, common people in the country, were killed and as many as 1,000 were rounded up by those the Economist magazine described as the "bullies of Vilnius."

The crackdown failed. By August of 1991, Lithuania had won its independence again.

Today, because of the brave efforts of those ordinary Lithuanians, it is a free country, it is democratic, chair of the Community of Democracies, is a member of the European Union, and one of America's allies in NATO.

Imagine my surprise at what I saw during a stop in the neighboring coun-

try of Belarus. I saw a step back into Soviet times, a step back into the barbarism we found in the KGB Museum in Lithuania. Sadly, though, this was not a museum show. It was real life.

Often known as the last dictatorship of Europe, Belarus has defied the democratic transformations that have swept across Europe following the collapse of the Soviet Union. The country has been ruled with an iron fist for most of the last few decades by a strongman, Alexander Lukashenko. In Lukashenko's two-decade-old totalitarian nightmare, opposition figures—anybody who had courage to step up and defy him—had been subjected to harsh repression and imprisonment. Over the years, those who might have been alternatives to Lukashenko in any election have disappeared or have been thrown in jail.

In fact, Lukashenko proudly still calls his police force the KGB.

In recent years, there was a glimmer of hope that perhaps Lukashenko was going to move away from his dictatorship. A Presidential election was scheduled for last December 19, one that some hoped would finally meet the most minimum international standards for democracy.

Those hopes were dashed when Lukashenko quickly claimed another term as President amid elections described by international monitors as seriously flawed. He ended up with 80 percent of the vote and said that was a good indication that it was a real election. He did not get 99 percent, as usual.

Lukashenko ordered his KGB thugs to brutally suppress opposition candidates, activists, and supporters who gathered in protest on election night in Independence Square in downtown Minsk in the nation of Belarus on December 19, last year. Six of the seven political opponents who ran against Lukashenko and more than 600 of their followers were arrested. Several of the Presidential candidates who are being held incommunicado still today face charges that can carry up to 15 years in jail. Their crime? They ran against him and they lost. They get to go to jail now.

Since then, Lukashenko's KGB has continued daily raids on the homes and offices of those with suspected ties to democratic parties and organizations, human rights organizations, and what remains of the independent media in Belarus.

Lukashenko has ignored election monitor reports questioning the credibility of the election and international demands to release all these political prisoners. He has pulled the country further into isolation and made it the subject of international scorn.

He follows the old Soviet playbook. His government has tried to blame outside forces in other countries, everyone but himself, for the shameful political mess he has created.